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FOLLOWING REPEAT ANKARA 2178 ACTION SECSTATE INFO ATHENS
LONDON MOSCOW NICOSIA USMISSION NATO USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH 22 MARCH 1974. QUOTE:

S E C R E T ANKARA 2178

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU, UR, GR

SUBJECT: CYPRUS--PRESENT TURKISH POSITION

REF A) STATE 54993; B) NICOSIA 452; C) NICOSIA 453

BEGIN SUMMARY: TURK ATTITUDES TOWARDS CYPRUS,
AND POSSIBLY TOWARDS GREECE AS WELL, APPEAR TO BE EVOLVING
TOWARDS A TOUGHER LINE. JUST ANNOUNCED STATE VISIT OF
DENKTASH IS LATEST EVIDENCE THIS TREND, ALONG WITH
CONFIRMATORY REMARKS BY KEY TURK MFA OFFICIAL. LATTER
DESCRIBED TO US RECENT SOVIET DEMARCHE IN ANKARA AND PLANNED
PARALLELSOVIET DEMARCHE IN ATHENS, WHICH MFA OFFICIAL CLAIMED
MAY HAVE BEEN INSPIRED BY MAKARIOS. WHILE INSISTENT THAT
THERE HAD BEEN NO RECENT ANKARA-ATHENS DIULOGUE OF
SIGNIFICANCE ON CYPRUS SITUATION, MFA OFFICIAL INDICATED TO US
THAT GOG MANEUVERING WITH EOKA-B AND OTHER ACTIONS
SUGGESTED THAT GOG COULD BE HEADING TOWARDS ANOTHER 1972
STYLE CONFRONTATION WITH MAKARIOS. IN THE LIGHT OF THESE
DEVELOPMENTS, INCLUDING FIRM TURK DENIAL OF GOG-GOT COLLUSION,

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WE STRONGLY RECOMMEND AGAINST ASSOCIATING OURSELVES IN TURKISH

EYES IN ANY WAY WITH RECENT SOVIET DEMARCHES. END SUMMARY.

1. IN A MARCH 20 EVENING REVIEW WITH US OF CYPRUS DEVELOPMENTS AND GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONSHIPS, BARUTCU, IN CHARGE MFA'S CYPRUS-GREECE DEPT, VOLUNTEERED THAT SOVIET CHARGE RECENTLY HAD MADE DEMARCHE TO FONMIN GUNES. CHARGE REFERRED TO ALLEGATIONS OF TURK-GREEK CONSULTATIONS AND POINTED OUT DANGERS OF AN IMPOSED SOLUTION TO CYPRUS PROBLEM. BARUTCU SAID THAT THE FOCUS OF THE DEMARCHE, HOWEVER, WAS ON WHAT ATHENS MIGHT HAVE IN MIND, NOT WHAT ANKARA INTENDED. THE SOVIET CHARGE LEFT WITH THE FONMIN A CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT THE RELATED DEMARCHE TO BE MADE IN ATHENS BY SOVIET AMB WOULD BE MUCH MORE POINTED.

2. BARUTCU EXHIBITED A MIXTURE OF EMBARRASSMENT AND IRRITATION OVER THIS EFFORT, WHICH HE CLAIMED WAS PROBABLY INSPIRED BY MAKARIOS. (BARUTCU, NORMALLY THE SOFTEST SPOKEN OF ALL TURKS RE MAKARIOS, ON THIS OCCASION VENTED THE BITTEREST CRITICISM OF THE ARCHBISHOP WE HAVE EVER HEARD HIM USE.) AFTER CALMING DOWN, HE SUI INTER ALIA THAT MAKARIOS CHARACTERISTICALLY TRIED TO MANIPULATE THE SOVIETS INTO TAKING SUCH STEPS WHENEVER HE SENSED HIMSELF THREATENED, AS HE DID AT PRESENT, BY THE CLEARLY ANTI-MAKARIOS ACTIVITIES OF THE ATHENS REGIME OR WHEN HE THOUGHT THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS WERE MAKING PROGRESS. WHEN WE SAID THAT PROGRESS IN THESE TALKS WAS BARELY VISIBLE AND WOULD HARDLY INSPIRE ANY CONCERN ON PART OF MAKARIOS, BARUTCU SAID THAT HE PERSONALLY WAS NOT UNIMPRESSED WITH THE FEW RECENT STEPS THAT HAD BEEN TAKEN AND THAT CHANCES WERE NOW BRIGHTER THAT A TURNING POINT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE REACHED AS EARLY AS THE SUMMER (HE NOTED THAT OSORIO-TAFALL WOULD BE REMAINING ON THE SCENE AT LEAST UNTIL THEN). AT LEAST, HE SAID, TURKEY AND GREECE WOULD THEN BE ABLE TO JUDGE WHETHER A SETTLEMENT COULD BE NEGOTIATED IN THIS FORUM.

3. WE DID NOT RPT NOT DISCLOSE THAT THE SOVIETS HAD MADE A DEMARCHE IN WASHINGTON.

4. BARUTCU REPEATEDLY AND INSISTENTLY CLAIMED THERE HAD BEEN NO SECRET

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SERIOUS RECENT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN ATHENS AND ANKARA ON ANY ASPECT OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. HIS GOT, HE SAID, HAD FROM TIME TO TIME PROPOSED A CLOSER EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE INTERCOMMUNAL NEGOTIATIONS, BUT ATHENS HAD RESISTED THIS IDEA ON GROUNDS THAT IT WOULD APPEAR TO BE GANGING UP ON GREEK CYPRIOTS.

5. AS FOR ATHENS-NICOSIA RELATIONS, BARUTCU SAID ANKARA

WAS CONFIDENT THAT ATHENS WAS GIVING THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE SUPPORT TO EOKA-B AND APPEARED ENGAGED IN RELATED WAYS IN A STRONG ANTI-MAKARIOS EFFORT. HE ADMITTED HE WAS UNSURE OF THE PRECISE GREEK OBJECTIVES, REMINDING US THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO GREEK CONSUL7; 5-589, 285# 5#3 574(9, 5#8 8 73, BUT THAT PRESENT DEVELOPMENTS CARRIED A STRONG RESEMBLANCE TO THE SITUATION IN EARLY 1972. HE RECALLD THAT TURKEY HAD RECEIVED ONLY A LAST-MINUTE WARNING OF THE GREEK "ULTIMATUM" TO MAKURIO AT THAT TIME. IF INDEED THE GREEKS HAD SOMETHING SIMILAR IN MIND FOR THIS YEAR, HE ADDED, THEY HAD NOT TOLD THE TURKS AND THE TURKS WERE NOT ASKING QUESTIONS OF THEM.

6. CONTINUING, BARUTCU SAID THAT TURKEY WAS AT PRESENT UNCONCERNED ABOUT THE ATHENS MOVES AND, AS IN 1972, JUDGED THAT THEY COULD WORK MARGINALLY TO TURKEY'S BENEFIT. WHILE THE NATIONALISTIC SPIRIT OF THE ATHENS REGIME WAS STRONG, AND ULTHOUGH THERE WAS AN ENOSIST FLAVOR IN THE ATHENS MOVES, TURKEY WAS CONFIDENT THAT GREECE FULLY APPRECIATED THE DANGES THE TURKS WOULD POSE IF A PRO-ENOSIS COUP TOOK PLUC ON THE ISLAND. ANYTHING APPROACHING ENOSIS WOULD BE MET BY TURKISH INTERVENTION AND PARTITION OF THE ISLAND, HE SAID FIRMLY. THE GREEKS UNDERSTOOD THE TURK POSITION SO WELL, BARUTCU CLAIMED, THAT NO REMINDERS WERE NEEDED. THE LAST INSTANCE WHEN THIS HAD BEEN DONE WAS WHEN PALAMAS WAS FONMIN.

7. WE ASKED BARUTCU ABOUT RECENT SIGNS THAT THE ECEVIT GOVT WAS ACTUALLY A GREAT DEAL MORE DISPLEASED WITH THE 1973 TURKISH AND TURK CYPRIOT POSITIONS IN THE INTERCOMMUNAL NEGOTIATIONS THAN HE, BARUTCU, HAD PREVIOUSLY INDICATED TO US. BARUTCU ADMITTED THAT THIS WAS A FACT. THE NEW GOVT HAD RESERVATIONS AS TO WHETHER THE INTRODUCTION OF GREEK AND TURKISH ADVISORS IN EXPANDED INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS HAD BEEN A WISE IDEA. THE NEW LEADERSHIP ALSO HAD JUDGED THAT THE DECEMBER DENKTASH PAPER ON LOCAL AUTONOMY
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DID NOT ADEQUATELY INTRODUCE THE FEDERALIST CAST INTO THE KIND OF GOVT AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION DENKTASH WAS SEEKING. BARUTCU IMPLIED THAT HE PERSONALLY DID NOT GREE WITH THESE CONCERNS, BUT HE STRESSED THAT THIS GOVT WAS GOING TO TAKE A HARD LOOK AT ANY SETTLEMENT THAT EMERGED AND MIGHT NOT ACCEPT IT IN THE END. WE SAID TO BARUTCU THAT HE WAS IN EFFECT CLAIMING A ROLE FOR TURKEY WHICH TURKS NORMALLY ASSIGN TO MAKARIOS. BARUTCU BACKED AWAY SLIGHTLY BY SAYING THAT THE TURKS WOULD PROBABLY ONLY INSIST ON AN ADDED SECURITY GUARANTEE (OF A NATURE WHICH HE DID NOT DEFINE). "EVEN IF DENKTASH FULLY SUPPORTS THE SETTLEMENT?", WE ASKED. BARUTCU ANSWERED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE, SAYING THAT TURKEY ALSO HAD TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT ITS OWN NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS, ADDING THAT THE TURK CYPRIOTS COULD NOT DICTATE TURKEY'S POLICY.

8. WE SAID WE WOULD BE BEARING THIS IN MIND WHEN WE NEXT HEAR DENKTASH MAKING STATEMENTS ABOUT TURKISH MILITARY INTERVENTION. BARUTCU SAID THAT DENKTASH MADE HIS RECENT STATEMENT IN THIS VEIN ON HIS OWN AUTHORITY, WITHOUT SEEKING APPROVAL OF ANKARA. TURKEY WAS NEVERTHELESS WILLING TO LET HIM SAY WHATEVER HE LIKED, IF ONLY TO COUNTER-BALANCE THE POLEMICS OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE.

9. COMMENT: AN EVOLUTIONARY CHANGE IN TURK POLICIES TOWARDS CYPRUS AND PERHAPS ALSO GREECE MAY BE TAKING PLACE. IT MAY BE SOME TIME, HOWEVER, BEFORE THE TRUE ATTITUDES OF THE ECEVIT GOVT, POSSIBLY THE MOST NATIONALISTIC IN SPIRIT OF ANY GOVT SINCE 1965, HAVE CRYSTALLIZED.

10. THE LATEST SIGN OF A SHIFTING TURK POLICY MAY HAVE EMERGED IN THE GOT MARCH 21 ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE STATE VISIT OF DENKTASH FOR THE WEEK OF MARCH 26-31. EVEN AFTER BECOMING VICE PRESIDENT, DENKTASH NEVER RECEIVED ON AN ANKARA VISIT ANY OF THE CEREMONIAL RED CARPET TREATMENT THAT HE WILL BE GETTING NEXT WEEK. IN OUR OPINION, THIS GESTURE COMING AS IT DID AT SHORT NOTICE, REPRESENTS CONSIDERABLY MORE THAN A SIMPLE EFFORT TO ENHANCE THE LEGITIMACY OF DENKTASH'S OFFICE. IN THE LIGHT OF PRESENT DEVELOPMENTS, INCLUDING NOT ONLY THE ATHENS-NCIOSU CONTROVRSY BUT ALSO THE SIMMERING TURKISH-GREEK DISPUTE OVER THE AGEAN, WE WILL BE ALERT TO SEE WHETHER MORE
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EXPLICIT EVIDENCE OF TOUGHER POSITION OF THE ECEVIT GOVT SURFACES AS REGARDS CYPRUS, UN POSSIBLE GREECE AS WELL. THE DENKTASH VISIT ITSELF WILL OF COURSE BE AN OCCASION FOR GOVT STATEMENTS ON CYPRUS AND WILL ALSO PROVIDE THE GOVT AN OPPORTUNITY TO BRING CYPRUS ONCE MORE TO THE FOREFRONT OF PUBLIC ATTENTION.

11. WITH THIS IN MIND, WE STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT THE US NOT ASSOCIATE ITSELF IN TURKISH EYES IN ANY WAY, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, WITH THE SOVIET DEMARCHES MADE IN ANKARA, ATHENS AND WASHINGTON. BARUTCU CLEARLY WAS RANKLED BY THE SOVIET DEMARCHE, WHICH HE REGARDED AS UNJUSTIFIED, AND WE MUST PRESUME IT HAS ANNOYED OTHER MEMBERS OF THE GOT AS WELL.

12. EVEN THE SOVIET COUNSELOR IN WASHINGTON ADMITTED THAT SOVIETS DID NOT HAVE SOLID EVIDENCE OF GREEK-TURKISH COLLUSION. ASIDE FROM THE STRONG DENIALS OF GREEK-TURK COLLUSION BARUTCU MADE TO US, WE HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO UNCOVER ANY EVIDENCE HERE THAT THE TURKS ARE CONFIDENT OF THE STAYING POWER OF THE CURRENT ATHENS REGIME AND CERTAINLY THERE ARE NO

SIGNS OF THE INTIMACY WHICH OCCASIONALLY DEVELOPED IN
RELATIONS BETWEEN PREVIOUS TURK GOVTS AND TMI PAPADOPOULOS
REGIME.
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